The New Africa Speaks Up for the New Cuba, P. 3

Documentary: From the Charges Made Against the US by Foreign Minister Roa at the UN, Pages 2-3

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The Deed *Was* Done Quickly, But It's Macbeth Who's Dead

April 19, 9 p.m.

Here in Washington, and earlier at the UN in New York, it was being whispered that if the Cuban deed were to be done, it would be best if it were done quickly. And so, it seems, these Shakespearian prayers have been granted, except that it is Macbeth not the King who lies slain. The rebel invasion of Cuba, as this is being written, seems to have been crushed. There is an atmosphere of deep gloom at the State Department. The President, due to "the press of business," has just announced that he will be unable to witness that week-end naval training exercise off the Florida coast, and the Navy followed this a few minutes later by cancelling the exercise altogether, though it was supposed to have been routine. Several hours before the news came over the UPI ticker that rebel headquarters had lost all contact with the troops on the beachhead in Las Villas ("Do you want me to evacuate you?" seems to have been the last words transmitted to them by the commander of an offshore supply vessel), the AP's State Department correspondent John M. Hightower had already filed a dispatch saying that the rebel invasion "was reported on excellent authority today" to have failed to set off "the political defections and uprisings" on which the expedition had counted. The failure was a failure of intelligence, and it is being said jokingly in the State Department press room that after the U-2 incident and the debacle in Laos, the Cuban defeat is the third strike against the CIA, and on three strikes it should be out. Fidel Castro will have done us a favor if his cleanup of the invasion also leads to a cleanup of Allen Dulles and the CIA. They have again demonstrated their incompetence.

Counter Revolutionaries Too Pink for Dodd

The shattering of the invasion hopes may also shatter the Kennedy honeymoon. The post mortems had begun before the defeat was confirmed. On the hill, a Senate Internal Security subcommittee under Dodd of Connecticut has been holding executive sessions today to hear complaints from the wilder right wing of the Cuban emigration against the Miro Cardona coalition. A preview was provided in last night's *Washington Star* where its right wing columnist Constantine Brown attacked the Miro Cardona coalition as too far Left, and predicted on the basis of earlier hearings by Internal Security "should the present counter-revolution succeed, there will not be much change in the totalitarian policies of Castro." On the other hand, the Left wing of the emigration had already begun to grumble bitterly about Kennedy. Those who had hoped for a new Fidelism without Fidel were disappointed on two scores. The first is that they had been forced to accept an economic and social program tailored to the moderate right and inconsistent, in their view, with the hopes aroused by the *Alianza para el progreso.* The second is with the invasion itself, in which they had had little hope from the beginning.

The Cast Changes, But Not the Hypocrisy

"It would perhaps be in order for me to inform the Council that while the reports that we receive on the situation in Guatemala are incomplete and fragmentary, the information available to the United States thus far strongly suggests that the situation does not involve aggression but is a revolt of Guatemalans against Guatemalans."

—Henry Cabot Lodge at the UN, June 20, 1954

"If the Castro regime has hostility to fear, it is the hostility of Cubans, not of Americans. . . . If the Castro regime is overthrown, it will be overthrown by Cubans, not by Americans. I do not see that it is the obligation of the United States to protect Dr. Castro from the consequences of his treason to the promises of his revolution. . . ."

—Adlai Stevenson at the UN, April 17, 1961

One of the key points to watch, I had been told earlier, was the choice of military leader for the invasion forces. There were two candidates. The candidate of the anti-Castro left led by Manolo Ray was Col. Ramon Barquin, the most respected military figure in the emigration, an army officer who had been imprisoned by Batista for revolting against him. Col. Barquin was named military commander of Havana by Fidel and defected last summer. Col. Barquin was against any large scale invasion, predicting that it would be disastrous if attempted because the time for it was not ripe; he is reported to have said that it would be militarily difficult and psychologically bad, uniting the Cuban people behind Castro against what would inevitably appear to be a foreign inspired invasion. He was in favor of infiltrating small groups and working from within. The candidate of the right wingers was Captain Manuel Artimé, a young man in his late 20's, a member of the *Agrupcion Catolica,* who had served for a month or two with Castro in the Sierra Maestra. He was described to me as "the pin-up boy of the CIA" and the darling of the right wing *Diario de la Marina,* which only last Saturday appealed for a new government which would exclude all who had ever served with Castro. Capt. Artimé was, however, to be forgiven his short stay under Fidel's banner and it was Captain Artimé who was chosen to command the invasion. The right wanted a man of its own in charge of the troops, and a man who shared its objective. This was not a new popular uprising but a beachhead on which a provisional government could quickly be established and then appeal for American arms and American military support. The paymasters of the counter-revolution, the big sugar and oil and other companies which helped finance the invasion, didn't invest their money to buy themselves

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Abridged Version of Cuban Foreign Minister Roa's UN Speech on April 17 . . .

"I must announce officially on behalf of the Government which I have the honor to represent that the Republic of Cuba was invaded this morning by a mercenary force which came from Guatemala and Florida and which was organized, financed and armed by the Government of the United States. The last time the Revolutionary Government of Cuba was represented before the Security Council, the representatives of the Western Powers labelled the accusations which we submitted to the Council with proof as inventions. It is the Cuban people who are [now] suffering the tragic consequences of those 'inventions.' They are suffering from American bombs; they are being strangled by American agents. Public buildings are being destroyed by saboteurs. Sugar cane plantations are being burned by piratical planes that are coming from Guatemala bases. These crimes and depredations have been sanctified, paid for and blessed by the State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA.

Castro's First Reaction to Kennedy

"When the Democratic Administration took power on 20 January, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba had certain hopes that the new leaders in the United States, who had learned from the catastrophic orientation of American foreign policy, and were conscious of the signs of the times, would change the methods and objectives of the previous Administration in their relations of cold-war policy regarding Cuba. Had we been given even some hope and some encouragement on that fact, you can be sure that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, in proof of good-will, would have withdrawn the item [Cuba's complaint to the UN of US aggression] from the agenda. But that hope was shattered. The policy of power of the Republican Administration has been crudely overthrown by the Democratic Administration, and replaced by an even greater one. In order to evaluate the position of the Cuban government, you must bear in mind the motto of the present President in the course of his electoral campaign, 'Let us do in Cuba what we did in Guatemala, but let us be frank and state it.'

"At the same time that the President of the United States took over his office, Prime Minister Fidel Castro said in Cuba, 'What decides demobilization? Demobilization depends upon the change which has just occurred in the administration of the United States. The new President has just made a speech which contained some positive aspects. We, the Cubans, know how to wait calmly. We were never invaded by hatred. We were never invaded by hysteria, not even when there loomed over us the ghastly danger of an attack by a powerful enemy. What do we say at the idea that peace may reign in our country and in the world? We welcome the opportunity and we welcome that peace and we trust that the government of the United States will correctly guide those who have this tremendous responsibility in the eyes of the world. We shall be happy for any correction made by the United States and any redress. We know what faces the new President of the United States. If he proceeds honestly along this new path, we shall be happy and hope for his success. But we shall await facts which are more eloquent than words.'

"According to this pronouncement on the part of the Prime Minister, which was made known in the note of the Foreign Ministry on 27 February and sent to the Foreign Ministries of the Americas, the Revolutionary Government would follow a policy of patient hope and await new events with open doors. The tone and the path chosen for the next declarations of the new President and those who cooperated with him clearly pointed out that the policy of the Democratic Administration was going to be one of even greater aggression and intervention than that of President Eisenhower. It has refused to recognize that the Cuban State has the right freely and spontaneously to develop its own cul-

U.S. Aircraft Carriers Covering Invasion?

"A few minutes ago the President of the Republic of Cuba, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, communicated to me, for the information of this Committee, that at 5:30 this afternoon, after shooting down a B-26 plane of the invading mercenary forces, a jet plane of the Revolutionary Air Force of Cuba pursued another jet plane of the enemy to a key known as Cayo Guano, within the jurisdictional and territorial waters of Cuba. When they arrived at this key, two jet planes of the Cutlass type broke in. These Cutlass planes are planes stationed on an American aircraft carrier. They passed over the Cuban plane, placed themselves at either side of the B-26 invading plane and escorted it as it withdrew.

"The Cuban government possesses accurate information from its pilots to the effect that when the B-26 enemy planes are in danger they are immediately succoured by jet planes which take off from an American aircraft carrier that is travelling slowly, cruising south of the Cuban coast, close to the Bay of Cochinos, where one of the landings of the invading mercenary forces has taken place."

—Mr. Roa, Cuba, at the UN April 17 (night session)

Was Our Own Revolution Betrayed When We Broke Out of the Colonialist System?

"Let us recall the details of the great American revolution of independence, for example. A third of the population of the thirteen colonies was still loyal to His Majesty, King George III of England. Important leaders offered Washington the royal diadem. Of the 3,929,214 inhabitants, about 1,000 exiled themselves and lost their assets, which were confiscated, and were prohibited from returning; those who did return were hanged. It was declared a crime against the fatherland to print false material or malicious slander against the Government. The Benedict Arnolds were thousands in number. The first general elections were held 13 years later and there was only one candidate presented. Women and slaves were not allowed to vote—and there were a million of them.

"And here is where we might ask an innocent question. Did the leaders of the Federalists betray the revolution because they liberated the social and economic forces that had been prepared by British monopolists, instead of limiting themselves to protesting against the tea tax, the paper tax and the molasses tax? Had they been willing to transact and negotiate with the colonialist system, they would then have been traitors to the American Revolution. Thus, we, too, would have been traitors to the Cuban revolution if we had circumscribed our revolution to the colonialist program of the counter-revolutionary Council."

—Mr. Roa, of Cuba, at the UN April 17

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. . . With Some Items the *New York Times* Did Not Print in Its Excerpts

tural, political and economic life. The U.S. Government has undermined the two pillars of the Inter-American juridical system: political sovereignty and economic security. The first is guaranteed in article 15 of the Charter of Bogota, which states that no State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, regardless of the reason in the internal or external affairs of any other State. The second, the economic security, is based on article 16 of the same Charter, which states that no State may devise or apply coercive economic measures to frustrate the will of another sovereign State.

Judge Warned Not to Ask Questions

"The Revolutionary Government of Cuba knows—and can the U.S. representative deny this?—that the CIA is a body directed towards subversion against Cuba and spends about half a million dollars a month on preparations for invasion. This has just been shown in black and white in *Time,* the *U.S. News and World Report,* the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Miami Herald* of 14 April where it is stated that the U.S. is spending $17,000 a day only to maintain four or five bases in Central America. Can the representative of the U.S. deny that, on 22 March, Alexander Herman communicated to Judge Mitchell D. Schweitzer a message from a federal agency not to ask questions of a Cuban witness, Carlos Duquesne, in the trial being held at present in the General Court of Sessions, so that that witness would not have to reveal any military secrets which he heard in a meeting of mercenaries in Miami with official agents? May I be allowed to illustrate this series of questions with photographic proof that I will hold up so that the Committee may see it.

"Is it or is it not true that these anti-tank guns, 57mm guns, manufactured by the Firestone Corporation, which were dropped by plane in Escombray, can only be sold through treaties between governments? Is it or is it not true that these 30-calibre carbines, M-1, manufactured by the IBM Corporation are those used by the Marine Infantry of the U.S. as a substitute for the 45-calibre Thompson automatic rifle? Is it or is it not true that this type of transmitter and receiver, with a range of 1,000 miles, is specially manufactured for the Intelligence Services of the U.S.? The Cuban delegation wishes to know what principles of the Charter of the UN authorizes any member State to wage an undeclared war against another member state?

"A U.S. newspaperman, I. F. Stone, has lifted the veil from another conspiracy in Washington. Stone says that when the Department of Justice announced that the gangster Rolando Masferrer was to be tried for violating the U.S. code and preparing an invasion of Cuba from Miami, a reporter asked the official of the Department why Jose Miro Cardona was not being tried for the same crime, and he was answered with silence. But Stone goes even further and asks why Allen Dulles is not being tried for violating the law of neutrality, since, after all, he is the main architect of the mercenary counter-revolution. [Mr. Roa then proceeded to summarize most of our special issue of April 17 on Cuba and the CIA—IFS.] Can the U.S. representative deny these facts? Can he convince anyone of the sincerity of the official declarations that there has been special vigilance to avoid violations of Cuban air space? Is it possible to hide this repeated and scandalous policy of the U.S. Government, aimed at liquidating the revolution, intervening in matters which are within Cuban sovereignty, violating Cuban air and sea space, sending weapons to kill peasants and workers and explosives to sabotage our agricultural production and hamper our industrial development?"

Did We Help Bomb Cuban Cities?

"As further proof of the interventionist and aggressive attitude of the U.S. authorities, we have the fact that the simultaneous bombardment of these Cuban cities coincided with the appearance in the atmosphere of a large number of solar flares which make it impossible to carry out proper radio communications. This displays the high level of technical skill passed on to the traitors and mercenaries in the camps maintained in U.S. territory and in Guatemala, who are being trained by the Central Intelligence Agency. These are techniques that were employed during the Second World War for bombing objectives in broad daylight. Obviously, information from the technological and meteorological services of the U.S. forces had to be utilized to this end, so that the targets of the attack would be left practically without communications. The bombardment of various parts of the island began at 6 a.m. local time, just at the time when solar flares were recorded."

—Mr. Roa, of Cuba, protesting the first bombings of Cuban cities at the UN, Saturday P.M., April 15

The New Africa Looks at the New Cuba and Explains "Why We Always Look Red"

"States engaged in the decolonization of their structure always discover, and are appalled by the fact that their economy is not adapted to the needs of their national life owing to foreign exploitation. Single crop economies are an essential characteristic of under-developed countries. A revolutionary government, in order to foster comprehensive economic development, is bound to alter the colonial shape of the productive system if it wishes to foster national output and the industrialization of the country.

"Contrary to accusations of communist infiltration which circulate everywhere as soon as an under-developed country engages in bold reforms, it should be known that the acts which succeed the assumption of power are the ineluctable consequences of a life of dependence and frustration and derive mainly from the paramount claim of people hitherto subjected to a feudal regime. In countries where the national economy is under the control of foreign interests, misery and wretchedness is the lot of the indigenous population, all of whose labor power is occupied in the production of raw materials required for the continued expansion of the trusts.

"In the field of production, in order to facilitate new crops in line with the needs of the people, and to put an end to the exploitation of the peasantry, in order to call a halt to the inevitably catastrophic repercussions of this general situation on national output—in a word, in order to remedy the irrational utilization of land and bring to an end social injustice and misery, fledgling governments must always engage in historic acts which sometimes become the cause of ill-repute for them."

—Mr. Doumboya, Guinea, at the UN April 17

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No Bridgehead: No Provisional Gov't—And It's Too Late for the Marines

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a new revolution.

No doubt the defeat will be disguised as a lack of materiel. I have never seen a military force equipped so quickly with tanks and jets, at least in the headlines. A few days ago it was being leaked by the CIA that we had to mount an invasion quickly before Soviet MIGs arrived. They seem to have been supplied more quickly than anyone expected by the Lem Jones firm which was hired to polish up public relations for the rebel forces. On Tuesday afternoon, Lem Jones put out a bulletin (see the account in the *Wall St. Journal* April 19) saying that Soviet tanks and MIGs had destroyed "sizeable amounts of medical supplies and equipment" on the Matanzas beachhead, "humanitarian supplies . . . destined for the Cuban freedom fighters who are shedding their blood to overthrow the shackles of Communism." Thanks to this communique, the headlines in this morning's papers were full of Soviet tanks and jets although smaller, more sober stories buried inside the *New York Times,* the *Herald-Tribune* and the *Washington Star* explained that heavy tanks would be useless on that swampy terrain, questioned whether Fidel had MIGs and pointed out that these planes would be of dubious value against small bodies of troops with mountain forest cover. These side stories, which seemed to originate from responsible sources in the Pentagon, said the fighting was essentially a small arms operation but the Soviet tanks and MIGs fought on undeterred in the headlines.

The Stock Market Was Optimistic

On the stock market Monday, the stocks of American firms which lost property in Cuba rose hopefully (see the survey on the *New York Herald-Tribune* financial page, April 18) but wiser estimates were already available. Albert M. Colegrove in the Scripps-Howard papers (see *New York World-Telegram* April 18) said most business men operating in Latin America disagreed with the rosy hopes of the rebels and quoted one U.S. business man from Panama as saying, "Why don't you folks up there in Florida stop kidding yourselves? Sure Castro has lost some support among the middle class people who still remain in Cuba, but most of the peasants, who comprise the great bulk of the Cuban population, still think he's great." These business men seemed to have a more realistic view than such liberals as the editors of the *Washington Post,* the *New Republic* and Max Lerner who lined up so quickly—and as it turns out so prematurely—with the war crowd. Now it is difficult to see what the anti-Castro forces can do. With no bridgehead, there can be no provisional government and it is too late for direct action by the Marines. This is not 1917.

At the United Nations earlier this week, one felt that the Cuban invasion was destroying Adlai Stevenson and the U.S. morally. How defend the indefensible and deny the undeniable? But the defeat of the rebel forces has suddenly turned high tragedy into low comedy. The Latins who spoke so bitterly in private and were so conspicuously silent in public will now laugh at the U.S.A. It is better that the defeat came now and quickly before the flames could spread. I hope we are not going to try and retrieve our prestige by jumping into a jungle war in Laos, and that the bigger Latin countries will rescue us by firmly pressing for negotiations between Washington and Havana. We're lucky if we can liquidate this David and Goliath affair with no more than this minor bloody nose. It is too bad that our own folly gave Khrushchov a cheap and easy chance to win a victory of prestige, but that is an irretrievable error. Let's not compound it with greater folly by continuing our vendetta against Castro.

The Lesson in the League and Ethiopia

"The lessons of history teach us to be vigilant. The old United Nations turned a deaf ear to the appeals of such nations as Ethiopia, and this fatal failing in the end brought about the downfall of that organization. May the United Nations act today in such fashion that reason will triumph over force. The very fate of the United Nations is at stake. It is for all these reasons that all peace-loving nations, and more particularly the smaller countries, must make every effort to induce the Governments of Cuba and the United States to settle peacefully this dispute which has set them against each other."

—Mr. Doumboya, Guinea, at the UN April 17

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